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Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Apr., 1974), pp. 197-220

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/544733>

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A BABYLONIAN DIVINER’S MANUAL

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MORE than twenty years ago F. W. Geers drew my attention to a few Kuyunjik fragments which he had copied and identified as duplicates of the texts published by C. Virolleaud in *Bab.* 4 (1911): 109–13 under the title “Table des matières de deux traités de divination: l’un terrestre l’autre astrologique, accompagnée d’instructions du mage à son élève.”

I have tried ever since to find more such fragments in order to complete the text of this interesting document. Some, such as K.6540 found in a copybook of Professor W. G. Lambert, came to my knowledge by accident, others were made known to me by Erica Reiner who chanced upon them in the course of her search for “astrological” tablets while working on a new edition of the series *Enūma Anu Enlil*.

As my contribution to this issue in memory of F. W. Geers, I propose to present this text on the basis of eleven fragments, some large, some small, which have made its nearly complete reconstruction possible.¹

The following is a list of the fragments included in this edition:²

| Museum no. | Figure | Previous copy | Previous transliteration |
|------------|---------|----------------------|--|
| K.2847 | 1 and 2 | 3 <i>R</i> 52 no. 2 | <i>Bab.</i> 4 109 ff. |
| K.2848 | 3 and 4 | 3 <i>R</i> 52 no. 3 | <i>Bab.</i> 4 109 ff. |
| K.6476 | 5 | none | none |
| K.6485 | 6 | none | none |
| K.6540 | 7 and 8 | none | none (joined to K.7685) |
| K.7685 | 7 and 8 | <i>Bab.</i> 4 122 | <i>Bab.</i> 4 109 ff. (joined to K.6540) |
| K.8801 | 9 | none | none (joined to Rm. 2,589) |
| K.9787 | 10 | none | none |
| Sm. 1077 | 11 | none | none |
| Sm. 1088 | 12 | none | none (joined to Sm. 1531) |
| Sm. 1531 | 12 | none | none (joined to Sm. 1088) |
| Rm. 2,589 | 9 | <i>Bab.</i> 4 120 f. | <i>Bab.</i> 4 109 ff. (joined to K.8801) |

With the exception of K.6476, all these fragments belong to a one-column version of our text. K.6476 is part of a two-column version which offers slight deviations (see note 42) and is transliterated separately on page 202. Two of the fragments, K.2848 and Sm. 1088, are written in Babylonian script; the others show typical Neo-Assyrian ductus.

¹ There are a few signs still missing at the very end of lines 1–3, in lines 18 and 20, and at the beginning of the last line (l. 84). A *hepi* passage in line 67 on tablet B recurs on tablets C and H and thus shows that these three copies go back to one and the same “Vorlage” which itself was the copy of a damaged original.

² Thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the texts. Shortly before this manuscript went to press, R. Borger informed me that he had recently joined K.6540 and K.7685.

The following list gives the sources of the text which is transliterated and translated below:

| Tablet | Obverse | Reverse |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| A K.2848 | 1-41 | 49-53, 57-82 |
| B K.2847 | 25-48 | 49-84 |
| C K.8801 + Rm. 2,589 | 14-45 | 46-77 |
| D K.9787 | broken | 68-71 (see below) |
| E K.6540 | (see below and n. 2) | 37-52 |
| F K.7685 | (see below and n. 2) | 30-54 |
| G Sm. 1077 | 13-22 | 73-75 |
| H K.6485 | (see below) | 59-71 |
| I Sm. 1088 + Sm. 1531 | 19-37 | 55-71 |

The two-column tablet K.6476 contains lines 71-82.

Four fragments, tablets D, E, F, and H, require comment because they are not exact duplicates as are the other tablets, but contain additional material. Tablets E, F, and H form a group inasmuch as they all show our text on the reverse and omens on the obverse. While the omens on Tablet F are too destroyed to be of any use, those on tablet H can be identified as "astrological" in nature;³ so little remains on tablet E that one can only state that it contained omens with apodoses,⁴ as is the case with tablet H, while tablets A, B, C, G, and I contain only protases. I will propose below (p. 209) an explanation for the fact that these two or three tablets only partly parallel our text.

As for tablet D, we have on the only preserved side two lines which correspond to lines 68 and 71. Then follow two lines which deviate; after a division line, there are three more lines which seem to contain "astrological" omens.⁵ I can offer no explanation that would shed any light on the nature of this fragment.⁶

The text presented below is based on the two largest tablets, A and B,⁷ supplemented

³ The following is a transliteration of the obverse of tablet H:

(1') [... D]i(?) GAN(?) M[UL](?)]
 (2') [... T]A lib-bi DUB.MEŠ MEŠ-ti ú-nas-si-ḫ[a]
 (3') [DIŠ(?)^dL]U.BAD.GUD.UD lu-ú SAG.ÚŠ ana MUL
 Šal-bat-a-ṛnu¹ T[E]
 (4') [x-(x)-a]s giš-gi-nu-ú^d Zi-ba-ni-tum MUL x []
 (5') [ina māti kitta i-t]a-mu DUMU KI AD-šú kit-tam
 i-ta-m[i]
 (6') [M]EŠ DINGIR ina lib-bi GUB-
 m[a]
 (7') [a-[m]i-ru IGI
 traces

⁴ Some of the ends of the lines preserved on tablet E read as follows: line 3': [i-da]-nab-bu-ub; 8': [i-šár]-ru₄; 11': [...]LUGUD.ME; 12' and 15': [UKÚ]-in; 17': [i-ta]-mi.

⁵ The following is an attempt to read the damaged and difficult text:

(1') (= 68/9) [...] ṛUD-me ki-nu-tu šit-qul-ti¹ [...]
 (2') (= 70) [...] ki-in-ma di-ri šul-lim it-id [...]
 (3') [... LÚ(?)M]EŠ i-šal-lu-ka ina ITU ṛŠU¹ UD
 15.KAM i[na]

(4') [... EG]IR IGI MU[L] EN.TE.NA.BAR.ḪUM KUR-ma
 [...]

(5') [...] UD.MEŠ ana IGI-ka TA^d Dil¹-bat ina IGI
 M[UL]]

(6') [...] MUL AL.LUL GUB-zu KI.MIN KI M[UL]]

(7') [...] MUL ŠUDUN GUB-zu u^d LU.BA[D].]
 break

⁶ Note that the i-šal-lu-ka in line 4' corresponds to the same word in line 51 of our text.

⁷ Only these two tablets have colophons: tablet A has ki-i KA GIŠ.ZU SAR-ma IGI+KÁR ŠU^{II} mdKU.SUD. NUN.TU-MU-D[IM] A^m MU-GÁL-šú LÚ la-gar^d KUR.GAL. The theophoric element in the scribe's name is quite rare; see the discussion in Å. Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen*, pt. 1 20 f. Dr. H. Hunger drew my attention to another colophon with the same name, cited in his *Kolophone*, no. 444, where the LÚ la-gar of our text is replaced by LÚ.ÚŠ+KU (for the equation, see Malku IV 15). Tablet B has the Assurbanipal colophon listed in Hunger *Kolophone* as no. 318 (= Streck Type b).

by the other fragments. The apparatus criticus gives the differences in spelling and the slight divergences that occur. Deviation in the distribution of words in groups of lines are pointed out but are not elaborated on.

Transliteration

- (1) DIŠ TUKUM.BI GISKIM ĦUL-tum *it-tu a-ĥi-tu* [x x x (x)]
 (2) *it-ta-a-tu ĥa-ĥa-a-tu lem-ne-e-tu šá ŠÀ-šu-n[u x x]*
 (3) DIŠ TUKUM.BI GÚ.GAL KÙ.BABBAR ŠÁM.ŠÁM.[DA]
 (4) DIŠ ZAG.GÀR.RA URU NA B[ÚR(?)]
 (5) DIŠ MUŠEN AN-e *a-ĥu-ú ša ki-i* NAM.LÚ.U_x.LU NUNDUN *zaq-na-at*
 (6) KA *bu-un-na-at* UGU ĠIR^{II}-šú *ziq-pa* GUB-zu *ip-par-šam-ma*
 (7) *i-na* URU *u na-me-e-šú* IGI.DU₈ KA-šú BE-ma INIM.MEŠ-šú *a-ša-a-ni*
 (8) DIŠ ĤA AMBAR *a-ĥu-ú ša ki-i* MUŠEN AN-e 2 ĠIR^{II}-šú *lu qa-an-dup-pi*
 (9) *lu kap-pi* MUŠEN ZAG *u ĠUB za-bi-iš* KA-šú BE-ma EME-šú
 (10) GIM *mu-ru-da-a* GAR-át
 (11) DIŠ *ku-ša-ru ina* EDIN *i-dul-lu₄*
 (12) DIŠ SA.A KA-šú BE-ma KI LÚ DUG₄.DUG₄ - ub
 (13) DIŠ *ina* ŠÀ URU É.GAR₈.MEŠ *i-qup-pá*
 (14) DIŠ URU *ĥi-ma-tu-šú* GIM *li-li-si* ĠÙ.DÉ.MEŠ
 (15) DIŠ LUGAL KUR *ina ma-ĥa-zi* GAL.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR *uš-šar* // KÙ.BABBAR *uš-šar-rim*
 (16) DIŠ SAL.MUŠEN *ba-ki-tú šá ki-i* TU.MUŠEN UGU URU *u na-me-e-šú id-mu-um-ma*
 (17) *iš* - *mu* - *šú*
 (18) DIŠ ĠIR *l-at ina* URU *u na-me-e-šú iš-tu* KI ¹ana(?)¹ [x x] ¹a¹-mi-ru *i-mur*
 (19) DIŠ MÁŠ.ANŠE KUR *ina* EDIN MÁŠ.ANŠE.EDIN *ina* URU IGI.MEŠ
 (20) DIŠ *ú-ma-mu* GAL *šá ki-i* MUŠEN AN-e 2 ĠIR^{II}-šú [x (x)(?)] *x ina* KUN-šú
 (21) GAR-at-ma IGI
-
- (22) 14 DUB.MEŠ *i-da-at* KI-tim *ki-i* TUKUM.BI ITU APIN.DU₈.A.TA
 (23) SIG₅-šú-nu *u ĦUL-šú-nu kaš-še-du-um*
 (24) *i-da-at* AN-e *it-ti* KI-tim-ma *ša-ad-da i-na-áš-šá-a*
-
- (25) DIŠ AN *gi-na-a ĥi-il-la ar-mu*
 (26) DIŠ ^dUTU *iš-gam-ma* MUL *iš-ru-ur-ma ana* IGI-šú GUB-iz
 (27) DIŠ MUL *Dil-bat ina še-re-e-ti i-kun u a-dan-na-ti-šú*
 (28) DIŠ MUL LU.BAD *šá 7 zik-ru-šu ina* UD-um *mit-ĥur-ti* IGI
 (29) DIŠ *šit-qul-ti* ^dEŠ *u* ^dUTU
 (30) DIŠ *ta-mar-ti* ^dEŠ *u* *a-ge-e-šú*
 (31) DIŠ TA UD 1.KAM EN UD 5.KAM ^dEŠ TÙR NIGIN.MEŠ
 (32) DIŠ MUL *šá ina* IGI-šú *šip-ra ina* EGIR-šú KUN GAR IGI-ma AN-ú BABBAR KI.MIN
 ZALAG-ir
 (33) DIŠ ^dIM *ú-šab-riq-ma* ŠU-su KI NIM.ĠIR IGI-ir
 (34) DIŠ MUL AŠ.GÁN *ina* ITU BÁR IGI-ir
 (35) DIŠ ^dTIR.AN.NA *šá ki-i* ŠÀ.NIGIN NIGIN-at *ina* AN-e IGI-ir
-
- (36) 11 DUB.MEŠ *i-da-at* AN-e *ki-i* MUL *šá ina* IGI-šú *šip-ra*
 (37) *ina* EGIR-šú KUN GAR-nu IGI-ma AN-e ZALAG-ir SIG₅-šú-nu *u ĦUL-šú-nu kaš-še-di*

- (38) *i-da-at* KI-*tim* *it-ti* AN-*e* *ša-ad-du* *i-na-áš-ša*
 (39) AN-*e* *u* KI-*tim* UR. BI GIŠ. GIM. MA *ub-ba-lu-ni*
 (40) *a-ḥe-en-na-a* ul BAR. MEŠ AN *u* KI *it-ḥu-zu*

- (41) *it-tum šá ina* AN-*e* *lem-ne-tu₄* *ina* KI-*tim* *lem-ne-et*
 (42) *ša ina* KI-*tim* *lem-ne-tu₄* *ina* AN-*e* *lem-ne-et*
 (43) *at-ta* GISKIM. BI KIN. KIN-*ma* *lu šá AN lu šá* KI-*tim* BE-*ma* GISKIM. BI ḪUL-*ša* *kaš-še-di*
 (44) *lu ana* KÚR. MEŠ *lu ana* BE. MEŠ *lu ana* SU. KÚ *it-tab-ša-ak-ku* GISKIM. BI *a-dan-ša*
 ḥi-it-ma
 (45) GISKIM *mi-ḥir* GISKIM *la it-tab-ši-ma pi-is-sà-tú la ir-ta-ši*
 (46) *ú-ul ú-šet-ti-iq* ḪUL-*ša* ul ZI-*ih* TE-*am*
 (47) [(?)] *an-nu-ti* ḪI. ḪI-*ma* TUKUM. BI ITU APIN. DU₈. A TA
 (48) [ù M]UL *ša ina* IGI-*šú* *šip-ra* *ṭup-pi 2-ma ina* ŠU-*ka tu-kal*
 (49) [GIS]KIM. BI ZU-*ma* URU LUGAL *u* UN. MEŠ-*šú*
 (50) *ina* ŠU KÚR NAM. BE ù SU. KÚ *šu-zu-bi*
 (51) *i-šal-lu-ka mi-nam* ta-*qab-bi*
 (52) *i-qab-bu-ka ki-i* tu-*še-et-ti-iq*

- (53) ŠU. NIGIN 24 *ṭup-pi i-da-at* AN *u* KI-*tim*
 (54) *ša* SIG₅-*šú-nu* *u* ḪUL-*šú-nu* *kaš-še-du-ú*
 (55) GISKIM *ma-la ina* AN-*e* *ib-šu-ú ina* KI-*tim* IGI-*ru*
 (56) *ina* ŠÀ-*šú-nu tam-mar an-nu-ú* NAM. BÚR. BI-*šú-nu*

- (57) 12 ITU. MEŠ *ša* MU I. KAM 6 UŠ UD-*me-ša* *mi-na-at zag-muk*
 (58) *ina* ŠU-*ka* DIB-*ma bi-ib-li* UD. DA. ZAL. LÁ-*e* *ša ta-mar-ti* MUL. MEŠ
 (59) *a-dan-na-ti-šú-nu mit-ḥur-ti* SAG. MU *ša* MUL AŠ. GÁN
 (60) *ta-mar-ti* ^dEŠ *u* ^dUTU *ša* ITU ŠE *u* ITU KIN
 (61) *ni-ip-ḥa u* IGI. DU₈. A. MEŠ *ša* ^dEŠ *ar-ḥi-šam* IGI-*ru* KIN. KIN-*ma*
 (62) *šit-qul-ta šá* MUL. MUL *u* ^dEŠ ŠEŠ-*ma li-pu-ul-ka-ma*
 (63) *ša* MU ITU. MEŠ-*ša* ITU. MEŠ UD. MEŠ-*šú kin-ma mim-mu-ú te-pu-šu* šu-*ul-lim*
 (64) *e-nu-ma ina* IGI. DU₈. A ^dEŠ UD-*mu er-pu* GÁL-*ka li-ti-ik-šú* D[UG *maš-qu-u*]
 (65) *e-nu-ma ina bi-ib-lu* UD-*mu er-pu* GÁL-*ka li-ti-ik-šú* DUG *maš-qu-u*
 (66) *ana la-tak bi-ib-li u na-an-mur-ti* GURUN EN [ITU]
 (67) *ù* *ša-at-tum* ^{ḥe-pi}
 (68) 12 ITU. MEŠ *ina* ŠU-*ka tu-kal a-na la-tak* UD-*me ki-nu-tim*
 (69) *šit-qul-ti* MUL. MUL *u* ^dEŠ *ina* ŠU^{II}-*ka tu-kal*
 (70) *áš-ri šip-ki* KIN. KIN-*ma* UD. MEŠ DIRI. MEŠ *lu-ú ti-di-ma*
 (71) MU. AN. NA *ki-in-ma di-ri-ša* šu-*ul-lim it-i-id la te-eg-gi*
 (72) BÁR GUD SIG₄ ŠU NE KIN DUL [APIN] GAN AB ZÍZ ŠE *zag-muk ana* qí-*ti-šú*
 (73) ŠE NU ŠE ŠE NU ŠE [NU] ŠE ŠE ŠE ŠE NU *e-reb* ERÉN *ana* KI. KAL + BE
 (74) NU ŠE NU NU NU ŠE ŠE ŠE NU NU NU ŠE ERÉN *ana* MÉ URU KUR KUR KÚR
 (75) ŠE NU ŠE ŠE ŠE URU KAR. RA
 (76) *u* MA. DA KAR. RA SIG₅
 (77) *ina* ŠU-*ka tu-kal*

| | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|---|
| (78) | EN.NUN ^d USAN | EN.NUN MURUB ₄ .BA | EN.NUN UD.ZAL.LI | EN.NUN DÙ <i>mu-ši</i> |
| (79) | NU | SIG ₅ | NU SIG ₅ | ERÉN KASKAL <i>šu-šu-</i> <i>rum</i> |
| (80) | SIG ₅ | NU SIG ₅ | SIG ₅ | ERÉN URU <i>ka-ša-du</i> |
| (81) | | | | <i>ka-šad</i> URU <i>u</i> ERÉN <i>šu-šur</i> KASKAL |
| (82) | | | | UD- <i>mu mit-ḥa-ru-tum</i> |
| (83) | | | | SIG ₅ .MEŠ |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| (84) | [|] | | <i>ka-liš ma-gir</i> |

Apparatus criticus

- 14 *ḥi-me-tu-šu* in G.
16 G: *iš-šur-tu* for SAL.MUŠEN.
17 C: [*iš-m*]e-e-*šu*.
16 and 17 form one line in C; arranged differently in G.
18 C: IGI for *i-mur*.
19 G: *bu-ul* for MÁŠ.ANŠE.
20 and 21 form one line in C.
21 C: only has GAR-*át*; A: has GAR-*ma*.
27 A: DINGIR for MUL; I: UD.DUG₄.GA.MEŠ-*ša* for *adannātišu*.
28 A: DINGIR for MUL; I: IGI.DU₈ for IGI.
30 I: *a-ge-e-šu*.
31 A: UD 5.KAM; F: [U]D 30.[KAM].
32 I: [GAR-*á*]t and AN-*e* for AN-*ú*.
33 I: ZA[LAG-*ir*] for IGI-*ir*.
35 C and F: GÍM for *ki-i*; I: NIGIN-*át*; C: NIGIN-*at*.
36 B, C, and F: *tup-pu*; C and F: GIM for *ki-i*; I: [*tup*]-*pe*.
36–40 form four lines in B.
38 C: -*ni* after *inaššá*.
39 and 40 form one line in B.
40 is not followed by a dividing line in A.
41 and 42 form one line in B.
43 differently cut in B, E, and F.
44 E: [...]-*ma* before GISKIM.
45 differently cut in B.
45 F: BE-*ma* before GISKIM; C: [...]-*ma* before GISKIM; B: *tu* for *tú*.
49 and 50 form one line in B.
50 B and F: *u* for *ú*.
50 and 51 form one line in A.
53 and 54 form one line in B.
53 B: DUB.MEŠ.
53–56 differently cut in A.
56 is not followed by a division line in A and I where it appears after 55.
57 B and C: UD.MEŠ-*ša*.
58 B: MUL.ME.
58–59; 63 differently cut in A and B.
61 A: *ni-ip-ḥi*; C omits MEŠ and has *ar-ḥi-šam-ma*.
62 A: *šit-qul-tim*.

- (4) "If the . . . of the man's town is [. . .]"¹³
 - (5) "If a strange-looking bird that has a beard like a human being,
 - (6) has a mouth, perched on high(?) legs, flying about,
 - (7) is observed in the town or its surroundings, opens its mouth and words come out"
 - (8) "If a strange looking 'swamp' fish that has two legs like a flying bird, flaps(?) either its tail feathers¹⁴
 - (9) or its bird wings right and left, opens its mouth and it has a tongue
 - (10) like(?) a *murudû*"¹⁵
 - (11) "If bundles of reeds walk about in the countryside"
 - (12) "If a wildcat opens its mouth and talks like a man"
 - (13) "If walls buckle inside a town"
 - (14) "If a town's *him(m)atu*¹⁶ produce a sound like (that of) a kettledrum"
 - (15) "If the king of the county . . .¹⁷ silver in the large cities"
 - (16) "If (the bird called) female mourner that looks like a dove utters mournful
 - (17) sounds over the town or its surroundings and people heard it"
 - (18) "If 'a single foot' [. . .] in the town or its surroundings from the earth t[o the sky (?)] and somebody saw (it)"
 - (19) "If wild animals from the highland are seen in the plain (and) wild animals from the plain in town"
 - (20) "If a great beast that has two legs like a bird and a [. . .] on its tail
 - (21) is seen"
-
- (22) (Together) fourteen tablets with signs occurring on earth according to (the series)¹⁸
 - (23) "If from the month Arahsamna on"; their good and their evil portents are in harmony (i.e., confirming each other)¹⁹
 - (24) The signs in the sky just as those on the earth give us signals.
-

¹³ The logogram sequence ZAG.GÀR.RA is unknown and the omen remains incomprehensible. Hardly a variant writing for ZAG.GAR.RA (= *aširtu* "sanctuary").

¹⁴ My translation of the difficult passage *lu qantuppi lu kappi iššūri imitta u šumēla zabib* is based solely on context and the supposition that *qantuppu* stands here for *kantuppu*, and that *zabābu* means "to flutter, flap wings." The latter can easily be supported etymologically, and against the traditional meaning of "stylus" for *qantuppu* speaks the parallelism with "wings." If one assumes a conflation of *qantuppu* and *kantuppu*, the translation "tail feathers" or the like suggests itself. The "Flossenschwanz" of *AHw.* thus fits better than the "footlike stand of a 'fish man'" of *CAD* which will have to be made less specific on the basis of the new reference. Indeed we seem to have here a term denoting the rear of a fish since the strange creature described in the omen is actually a fish.

¹⁵ The last phrase (*kīma mu-ru-da-a*) is grammatically difficult and also lexically uncertain. The OB omen passage (*YOS* 10 45:44 and 46) which describes the right and left side of a gall bladder as looking like the *murudû* of an axe that has wings (or fins) seems to suggest the meaning "blade" for *murudû* (as against *murdû*).

¹⁶ The word should not be listed sub "Kehricht, Abfall" (*AHw.*), as it seems to denote here an architectural feature. In view of the Ugaritic *hmt* (see *humūtu* and possibly *hamūtu* in *CAD*) the translation "walls" for *himātu* may be suggested.

¹⁷ The verbal form *uṣ-ṣar* (var. *uṣ-ṣar-rim*) remains obscure.

¹⁸ My interpretation of *kī* followed by the omen incipit is suggested by the context, although I do not know of any such use of *kī*. This holds true also for my interpretation of the two phrases *TUKUM.BI ITU APIN.DUG.A.TA* (lines 22 and 47) and *kakkabu ša ina paṇīšu šipru* etc. (lines 36 and 48; see below, n. 23) as incipits of the two "catalogues." If the two "catalogues" (i.e., lines 1-21 and 25-35) would represent a series they would be quoted by means of the incipit of their first tablet. This is, however, not the case: the first group is called by a phrase that does not occur at all in the "catalogue" (see above, n. 9), and the second by the eighth of the eleven omens. This is again atypical and as such one of the many oddities of our text. See also note 37.

¹⁹ For this passage see the discussion below, p. 207.

- (25) "If the sky is constantly covered with a haze"²⁰
- (26) "If after the sun has moved higher, a star shoots and comes to a stop in front of it"
- (27) "If the planet Venus becomes stationary in the morning and its critical dates"²¹
- (28) "If the planet Mars which has seven names is seen on the day of (its) opposition"²²
- (29) "If the opposition of moon and sun"
- (30) "If the first visibility of the moon and its 'tiaras'"
- (31) "If the moon is constantly surrounded by a halo from the first to the fifth (var. thirtieth) day"
- (32) "If a star is seen that has a crest in front and a tail behind²³ and the sky turns light"
- (33) "If Adad sends lightning and his 'hand' is seen together with the lightning"²⁴
- (34) "If the constellation Pegasus is seen in the month Nisannu"²⁵
- (35) "If a rainbow that is curved like the intestine(s) is seen in the sky"
-
- (36) (Together) eleven tablets with signs occurring in the sky according to (the series)²⁶
- (37) "(If) a star is seen that has a crest in front and a tail behind and the sky turns light"; their good and evil portents
- (38) are in harmony (i.e., confirming each other).²⁷ The signs on earth just as those in the sky give us signals.
- (39) Sky and earth both produce portents
- (40) though appearing separately, they are not separate (because) sky and earth are related.
-
- (41) A sign that portends evil in the sky is (also) evil on earth,
- (42) one that portends evil on earth is evil in the sky.
- (43–46) When you look up a sign (in these omen collections) be it one in the sky or one on earth and if that sign's evil portent is confirmed(?)²⁸ then it has indeed occurred with regard to you in reference to an enemy or to a disease or to a famine. Check (then) the date of that sign and should no sign have occurred to counteract (that) sign,²⁹ should no annulment³⁰ have taken place, one cannot make (it) pass by, its evil (consequences) cannot be removed (and) it will happen.

²⁰ Paralleled in *ACh* Adad 31:76.

²¹ This omen appears in *ACh* 2d Supp. 51:1.

²² Compare the enumeration of the seven names of Mars in *CT* 26 45 ii 18 (see note 23 for this text).

²³ This phrase, which appears as *ul ša ina panīšu šipru ina arkišu zibbatu šakin* in *CT* 26 40 r. iv 13, is used in our line 36 as "title" of all the celestial omens of the second catalogue (lines 25–35). It continues in our text with *IGI-ma AN-e ZALAG-ir* as is the case in the above-mentioned text *CT* 26 where it is explained by *šallummū* (see *CAD* s.v., where the explanation is cited in full) which denotes a meteoric fireball (see Weidner *Handbuch* 12 and idem, "Ein astrologischer Sammeltext aus der Sargonidenzeit," *Afo* 19 109 and pl. 32 col. iii 36 f.).

²⁴ The "hand of Adad" could conceivably refer to the god's symbol representing lightning (usually called *birqu*) or to a stone of the type called thunderbolt.

²⁵ This is the incipit of Tablet LI of *Enūma Anu Enlil*; see E. F. Weidner, *Afo* 22 74.

²⁶ See note 18.

²⁷ See note 19.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ For the mutual cancellation of contradictory omens as expressed in the phrase *ittu miḥir itti*, cf. similar instances from the Reports (Thompson *Rep.* 57 r. 4, 95 r. 1 and 180:6.)

³⁰ For the use of the term *pissatu* "cancellation" with the verb *rašū*, cf. the interesting parallel in *ABL* 1391 r. 9 (= *CT* 35 pl. 11:30 and Parpola *LAS* 10) *šumma ittu ina šamē illakamma pi-iš-ša-tu la irši*. The identity of *pissatu* with *piššatu* (neither listed in *AHW.*) was already pointed out by Landsberger in *Afo* 10 150, n. 48.

(47–52) These are the things you have to consider when you study³¹ the two collections³² (called) “If from the month Arahsamna on” (and) “If a star has a crest in front.” (When) you have identified the sign and (when) they ask you to save the city, the king and his subjects from enemy, pestilence and famine (predicted) what will you say? When they complain to you, how will you make (the evil consequences) bypass (them)?

-
- (53) *In summa* twenty-five³³ tablets with signs (occurring) in the sky and on earth
 (54) whose good and evil portents are in harmony(?)³⁴
 (55) You will find in them every sign that has occurred in the sky
 (56) (and) has been observed on earth. This is the method to dispel (them):
-

(57–63) Twelve are the months of the year, 360 are its days. Study³⁵ the length of the year³⁶ and look (in tablets) for the timings of the disappearances, the visibilities (and) the first appearance of the stars, (also) the position(?) of the Iku star at the beginning of the year, the first appearance of the sun and the moon in the months Addaru and Ulūlu, the risings and first appearances of the moon as observed each month; watch the “opposition” of the Pleiades³⁷ and the moon, and (all) this will give you the (proper) answer, (thus) establish the months of the year (and) the days of the months, and do perfectly whatever you are doing.
 (64–65) Should it happen to you that at the first visibility of the moon the weather should be cloudy, [the water clock(?)]³⁸ should be the means of computing it,³⁹ should it happen to you that at the disappearance of the moon the weather should be cloudy, the water clock(?) should be the means of computing it.
 (66–71) To predict the (days of) disappearance and reappearance you study the series *Inbu bēl arḫi*⁴⁰ “Year—broken—Twelve Months.” To predict the “correct” days you study the “opposition” of the Pleiades and the moon. Look up the . . .⁴¹ and (thus) you will learn about the additional days. Establish the (length of the) year and complete its intercalation. Pay attention and be not careless!

³¹ The idiom *ina qātē* (PN) *kullu* has many meanings, but in the language of the scholar it should be translated as “to take as basis (for computation or other considerations).” This fits our text and *ABL* 362 r. 9 (= *LAS* 166), as well as the *Enūma Anu Enlil* omens dealing with eclipses of the moon when the quadrant affected is to be made the basis of the prediction (cf. *ACh* Sin 33 11, 37, 47, 55, 64, 73, 80, Suppl. 29:16, 2d Supp. 29:16, etc.; see E. F. Weidner, *Afo* 17 81 ff., Thompson *Rep.* 271:3, *UET* 6 413:21, etc.). This interpretation is confirmed in the letter from Mari (*ARMT* 13 29) which is concerned with establishing the first day of a month: “in Mari the third day of the (new) month has already passed” [*m*]unūtam ša bēlija [in]a qātīšu ukall[u] lišpuram[ma] “may my lord send me word as to the count on which he bases himself” (lines 9 f.).

³² Strangely enough this translation of *ṭuppi* 2-*ma* is required by the context.

³³ The tablet clearly has twenty-four instead of the expected twenty-five.

³⁴ See note 19.

³⁵ See note 31.

³⁶ The exact time that elapses between two New Year's days is indicated by *zagnukku*.

³⁷ This refers, as Dr. Hunger informs me, to the use of this constellation for establishing the necessity of an intercalation. For details, see J. Schaumberger, “Die Plejaden-Schaltregel” in F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, Supp. 3 (Münster, 1935), pp. 340–44.

³⁸ This phrase recurs in a broken and difficult context in *ACh* 2d Supp. 19:7 f. where it reads as follows: *li-ti-ik-šu dug* [... *li*]-*ti-ik-šu maš-qu-ú*. It suggests that at periods of poor visibility a water clock device (called *mašqu*) was used to establish the exact length of the day.

³⁹ The use of *latāku* for “to predict, compute” does not quite fit into the normal semantic range of this verb (“to test”). Note however, that *maltaku* (another word for a timekeeping device) is derived from *latāku*. See also *dibdiḫbu* in the dictionaries.

⁴⁰ For this series, cf. *CAD* s.v. *inbu* mng. 1a, and Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender* 103.

⁴¹ The sign group *āš-ri šip/me-ki* remains a mystery.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------|--------|--------|--------|-----|--------|---------|-----------|---------|--------|--------|--------|
| (72) | Nisannu | Ajāru | Simānu | Du'ūzu | Abu | Ulūlu | Tašritu | Arahsamna | Kislīmu | Tēbetu | Šabātu | Addāru |
| (73) | favorable | not | favor. | favor. | not | favor. | [...] | favor. | favor. | favor. | favor. | not |
| (74) | not | favor. | not | not | not | favor. | favor. | favor. | not | not | not | favor. |
| (75) | favor. | not | | | | | favor. | | | favor. | | |

col. xiii ll. 72-77

Study (this table listing the months from) New Year's day to the year's end:⁴² favorable for the army entering the camp, for the army to (give) battle, to conquer a town, to defeat the enemy, to take booty from a town or a country.

| | | | | |
|---------|---------------|----------------|---------------|---|
| (78) | Evening Watch | Midnight Watch | Morning Watch | The watches of the entire night: |
| (79) | not | favorable | not favorable | for dispatching the army on a |
| (80) | favorable | not favorable | favorable | campaign, for the army to conquer |
| (81-83) | | | | a city, for defeating a city and an |
| | | | | army, for dispatching an expedi- |
| | | | | tionary force, all the <i>miḥaru</i> days |
| | | | | are favorable. ⁴³ |

(84) [] altogether favorable⁴⁴

Since the text presented here is rather complex in its structure and in many respects atypical, I would like to outline first what I consider to be its primary purpose. This will, at the same time, draw attention to the crux of the text: a word occurring several times in rather similar contexts but still remaining philologically obscure, so that its meaning can only be approximately and conjecturally defined.

As Virolleaud had already noticed more than sixty years ago, our text contains two omen catalogues and a set of instructions for their user. The catalogues deal separately with what one must call terrestrial and celestial signs and the author expressly states this differentiation by repeatedly stressing their equal importance and their relationship to one another. In the set of instructions, a different divinatory method is introduced: the validity of an omen, so we are expressly told, depends on the month and on the watch of the day or night (see above, note 41) on which it occurred. This is a new departure in Mesopotamian divination, although we know, of course, that certain celestial phenomena such as eclipses derive their prognostication directly from the date of their

⁴² The two-column version (K.6476, see above, p. 202) shows an entirely different arrangement of lines 72-83 of our text. It drops the table and indicates after the name of each month (lines 3'-4' have only the second half of the year, the first is lost in the break) whether it is favorable or not. It is noteworthy that the distribution of favorable and unfavorable qualities is not the same in these two versions. Another difference is the additional listing of the watches of the night (K.6476: 7' and 8'). Note also that K.6476:10' reads *zag-muk ana qī-ti-šū ina šu-ka tu-kal*, while the main tablet distributes this phrase in two lines (72 and 77) where it does not make much sense. Also line 12' (of K.6476) and lines 81 f. differ. Moreover, K.6476 does not indicate the favorable or unfavorable character of the watches of the night.

⁴³ The meaning of *ūmū miḥarūtu* is quite uncertain. It refers here to certain days of the month as it does in the parallel phrase [... U]D.MEŠ *miḥ-ru-tu* sig₅ of the new Warka text W. 22307/27+43:19 to be published by Dr. H. Hunger and listed in *UVB* 26 83 no. 75.

⁴⁴ *kališ magir* in line 84 could well be interpreted as the end of a catchline showing the beginning of the next tablet. Therefore, there is a possibility that our text was the first tablet of a series concerned with hemerologies. So far, however, no scholar has undertaken a systematic investigation of the form patterns and the internal developments of this text type and hence no conjecture can be offered yet.

occurrence. Nevertheless, I would like to point out that the systematic transfer of the time criterion (see below, note 46) to ominous signs of every description represents the first of several original contributions made by the author of our text.

The reason for this transfer is stated in the text several times and in each instance the same obscure verbal form is used. Each catalogue is followed by a sort of "summary" of three (22–24) or five (36–40) lines and by a final summary (lines 53–56) which introduces at the same time the section containing the instructions. The summaries can be translated as follows:

"fourteen tablets with signs occurring on earth, . . . their good and evil portents are *kaš-še-du-um*. The signs in the sky just as (those) on earth give us signals" (lines 22–24).

"eleven tablets with signs occurring in the sky, . . . their good and evil portents are *kaš-še-di*. The signs on earth just as (those) in the sky give us signals. Sky and earth both produce portents, (though) appearing separately they are not separate (because) sky and earth are interrelated" (lines 36–40).

"All together twenty-five (see note 33) tablets with signs (occurring) in the sky and on earth whose good and evil portents are *kaš-še-du-ú*. You will find in them (i.e., in the omens) every sign that has occurred in the sky (or) has been observed on earth" (lines 53–56).

Philologically, that is, from the point of view of morphology and etymology, the stative forms *kaš-še-du-um* and *kaš-še-di*, and the subjunctive *kaš-še-du-ú* remain obscure. Were it not for the appearance of the feminine form in the passage [. . . GIS]KIM-šú *kaš-ši-da-at* in the newly found Warka tablet W. 22307,7 (the reverse of which is published in photograph by H. Hunger in *UVB* 26 pl. 25g), and for the explicit spelling [. . .] *du-um-qu ka-áš-še-du-ú* in *CT* 51 76 ii 9' (communication of H. Hunger), one would have to reject them. But since the stative occurs five times, and always in connection with omens, one has to attempt to establish, however approximately, the meaning of the word.

There are two considerations which may help us: one is the purpose of our text itself; the other is the specific contexts in which the verb occurs in the text. Obviously the author added the hemerological table to the omen catalogue to provide further criteria should the predictions contained in the omens, terrestrial or celestial, prove to be either insufficient, or contradictory, or useless in any other way. Our verb must therefore refer to some quality of a favorable or unfavorable prediction which makes it necessary for the diviner to resort to the hemerological practices prescribed by the text, that is, to consider the date and the hour of the ominous event. In view of the stress placed by the author on the close relationship that he assumes to exist between terrestrial and celestial signs, one is tempted to interpret the verb as meaning either they (i.e., the omens originating in these two realms) "confirm each other," that is, are in harmony, or "contradict" and hence cancel each other. Both, a confirmatory and a contradictory situation, would create the need for the diviner to consult the hemerological table offered at the end of the text.

At first sight it seems that the result of a mutual confirmation of celestial and terrestrial signs would have been the removal of all doubt, and that the second possibility would therefore appear more likely in view of the *raison d'être* of the text. This, however, can be countered by two arguments: (1) in the case of contradictory predictions a *namburbi*-procedure (see line 56) would be inappropriate because the purpose of a

namburbi is to counteract what has been unequivocally predicted; and (2) the meaning “are contradictory” would make no sense in the first and the second of the “summaries” cited above. Hence I translate the phrase as follows: “their good and evil portents (i.e., those in the listed tablets) are in harmony (i.e., a favorable sign on earth is paralleled by one in the sky and vice versa (because) signs occurring in the sky (on earth) just as those on earth (in the sky) are giving (us) signals.” When terrestrial omens are involved (lines 1–21) the text has *idāt šamê itti eršetimma* (line 24), whereas in the case of celestial signs (lines 25–35) the corresponding wording is reversed and the text reads *idāt eršeti itti šamê* (line 38), thus indicating the coordination of the two realms—another favorite idea of our author.

The conscious and systematic attempt made here to interrelate the two Mesopotamian divination traditions concerned with terrestrial and celestial signs respectively is not without parallels in the contemporary omen literature, although it is nowhere expressly stated. Thus we find “*namburbi*-rites for all signs in the sky and on earth” mentioned in the “curriculum” of the diviner (*KAR* 44 r. 4, studied by H. Zimmern as “Ein Leitfaden der Beschwörungskunst,” *ZA* 30 [1915–16]: 204–29); then there is also a reference to *ittāti ša šamê u eršeti* in *ABL* 629:12 (NA), while in *ABL* 223:6 (NA) we have the revealing passage *ittāte lu ša šamê lu ša eršeti lu ša šumma izbu* “the signs in the sky or on earth or (those) in (the series) *Šumma izbu*.” Apart from the standard passages in the *šulla*-prayers (e.g., *BMS* 12:64), we know of references to both terrestrial and celestial signs from the royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon (see Borger *Esarh.* 45 ii 4 and 81 r. 2), Assurbanipal (Streck *Asb.* 254:14) and Nabonidus (Langdon *VAB* 4 226 iii 18). Our author goes a step further and apparently considers omen predictions valid only when both realms offer either a favorable or an unfavorable prognostic.

There is another problem here: does the author’s statement in lines 55–56 “you will find in them every sign that has occurred in the sky (and) that has been observed on earth” constitute in fact a claim that the few tablets of his two catalogues encompass the entire range of phenomena within the ken of the diviner scanning heaven and earth? He must have been aware of the more than one hundred tablets dealing with terrestrial events (the series *Šumma ālu ina melê šakin*), and of the more than seventy that attempt to collect the signs produced by the heavenly bodies, not to mention the tablets that deal with atmospheric and seismic phenomena (*Enūma Anu Enlil*). Does this sweeping statement of our author represent an overambitious claim of an individual scholar or should it likewise be seen as a new departure? Such questions, which of course will never be answered, put in relief the unique and personal nature of the composition which we are investigating.

This is moreover corroborated by the choice of omen texts catalogued in our text. The list of terrestrial omen tablets shows hardly any line (for an exception, see note 12) which one could trace in the numerous omen tablets of similar content;⁴⁵ they all seem to belong to a grouping of tablets called by the author “*TUKUM.BI ITU APIN.DU₈.A.TA*” (lines 22 and 47) which has left no trace in the corpus of published omens. This is not quite the case with the catalogue of celestial omens in which we find several parallels to omen lines incorporated into the series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, as was demonstrated in

⁴⁵ Let me point out an exception. In the short catalogue of omen incipits preserved in D.T. 318, a text to which Erica Reiner drew my attention and

which H. Hunger identified as a tablet written by Nabû-zuqup-kēna, we find in line 14 a parallel to our line 19. It reads *DIŠ ú-ma-mi EDIN ana URU TU*.

notes 19–21 and 23. Again, however, one must point out that the grouping called “*kakkabu ša ina panišu šipra ina arkišu zibbatu šaknu innamirma šamē namir*” (lines 36 and 37, also 48), is as yet unaccounted for in the thousands of “astrological” fragments found in Assurbanipal’s library.

One more point must be made. As has been stated above (in notes 3 and 4 to the fragments of tablets H and E respectively) an essential part of our text, that is, the instructions to the diviner, is preserved in two instances on tablets whose other sides list omens which are, as far as the traces allow us to judge, different from the omens listed in the two catalogues of our text. This may mean that there existed more tablets similar in content and tenor to our text. Apparently the methods propounded in our text for dealing with inconvenient signs of both a terrestrial and celestial nature, namely, taking their timing as a criterion, was more widespread than the evidence at hand suggests.⁴⁶

Line 56 of our text is crucial because it might give us a clue for dating it. The words *annū namburbīšunu* “this is the method to dispel them (the evil portents)”⁴⁷ introduce the specific instructions (see below). This use of the word *namburbū* differs from the customary one inasmuch as it does not refer to the performance of magic, to the recitation of appropriate formulae, or even to special acts, all meant to counteract and to dispel the evil consequences of certain ominous occurrences or inappropriate actions (see the passage cited in note 47). The *namburbū* prescribed in our text consists in establishing the exact date of the event observed by means of sound astronomical observations and calculations and by gleaning from the appended hemerological table whether the month or the time of day was propitious or not for the undertaking planned when the omen occurred.⁴⁸

Moreover, the normal range of untoward ominous happenings that necessitate the performance of a *namburbū* are those described in the series *Šumma izbu* and *Šumma ālu*; only in the letters of the last Sargonids is this type of ritual applied likewise in the case of evil-portending celestial events (particularly eclipses).⁴⁹ Our text, which also resorts to a *namburbū* on such occasions, may therefore be dated to the same period. The fact that its author considers terrestrial and celestial signs to be of equal validity is likewise characteristic for that period (see above p. 208). This I have attempted to show also in my preliminary study of the reports of the diviners at the Assyrian court and in Babylonia, which were written for the king in order to interpret just such signs for him.⁵⁰

Let me now turn from the discussion of the omen catalogues and their “summaries” to that of the instruction section of our text.

The instruction section readily falls into three parts; first: lines 43–52 which address the diviner and outline with unparalleled clarity the circumstances that make it necessary

⁴⁶ The use of the time element to escape from an unpleasant prediction is sporadically attested in Mesopotamian divination. The dire consequences of the complete absence of the gall bladder for example, are qualified in *CT* 28 44 K.717 (excerpted from the fragmentary *CT* 30 12 K.1813+ 13 ff.) by the month in which it is observed. Correspondingly, in *CT* 38 34, the consequence of an encounter with a snake is supposed to depend on the month in which it happened.

⁴⁷ For a parallel see *ZA* 43 19:75.

⁴⁸ This seems to be the purpose of the last column to the right of the tabular arrangement, although it

remains far from clear how the phrase in the last column is to be related to the time chart.

⁴⁹ Professor R. Caplice’s forthcoming book on the entire literary genre and the phenomenology of the *namburbū* rituals will deal with the references in Harper letters (e.g., *ABL* 23, 46, 337, 470, 629, 647, 895, etc.) to this specific ritual practice. A survey of the typical *namburbū*-texts published by R. Caplice can be found in his index of texts in *Or.* n.s. 40 183.

⁵⁰ “Divination and Celestial Observation in the Late Assyrian Empire,” *Centaurus* 14 (O. Neugebauer Anniversary Volume [1969]): 97–135.

to do something about the evil portended; second: lines 57–71⁵¹ with their specific instructions about how to establish whether a day should be assigned to the current or the coming month; and third: the aforementioned hemerological table, the last step in the process of determining the validity of a forecast.

In the first section the two traditional methods the diviners use to reject an evil prediction are enumerated: either a contraindication (see note 24) or what is called an “annulment” (see note 30). Only when both methods fail is there actual danger that the sinister prediction cannot be made to bypass (*šūtuqu*) the person for whom it was relevant, and that it cannot be eliminated (*nasāhu*) but will actually happen (*teḥū*). At this point the author exclaims, quite dramatically, “(when) they ask you to save the city, the king and his subjects from enemy, pestilence, and famine (predicted) what will you say? When they complain to you, how will you make the (evil consequences) bypass (them)?” This sophisticated and quite atypical *mis-en-scène* should obviously underline the importance of the new method devised by our author, or by the school of diviners to which he belonged, when all traditional measures had been exhausted.

The direct instructions (after the *annū namburbīšunu* in line 52) begin again with a curiously worded general statement (line 57) such as is rare in cuneiform literature: “twelve are the months of the year, 360 are its days.” Then comes a long and complex instruction (58–63) which tells the diviner to study (*ina qātē kullu*, see note 31) and look up (*šite’ū*, KIN.KIN, on lines 43 and 61) certain data that will give him the necessary information (*apālu*, line 62). Then follows an exhortation to proceed with care and exactitude (*mimmū teppušu šullim*, line 63) which is repeated (line 71) as the last line of the text (line 71) just before the table (*iḫid la teggi*).

The next section (lines 64–65) deals with the observation of the new moon⁵² and what to do when adverse weather conditions prevent exact timing. Though very tersely styled, these lines seem to contain a reference to the use of a water clock for establishing the length of a day. The balance of the text (lines 66–71), the understanding of which is hampered by a break in the original, from which tablets B, C, and H were copied (line 67), is concerned with the intercalation of months and related matters. It contains many difficulties and obscure technical terms, thereby revealing something of the variety of early astronomical methods used in establishing basic chronological facts by both recorded observations and actual sightings. However, it will require the help of the historians of science to identify the specific methods alluded to in our text. As a matter of fact, its main importance seems to lie in the insights it might allow us one day into these diverse practices which attest to the repertory of pre-scientific astronomy in the first half of the first millennium B.C., thus complementing the evidence furnished by the still largely unpublished series MUL.APIN.

At the same time our difficult text is witness to the renewed vigor the Mesopotamian scholar brought to bear on enlarging and refining previous divination techniques in the outgoing second and incoming first millennium, a vigor which created a plethora of new forms and methods of divination while at the same time it carefully maintained the heritage of the early second millennium achievements.

⁵¹ With an intervening “final summary” as in lines 53–56.

⁵² For the importance of such observations, see my remarks in the paper cited in note 50, pp. 122 f.



FIG. 1.—K.2847. Obverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

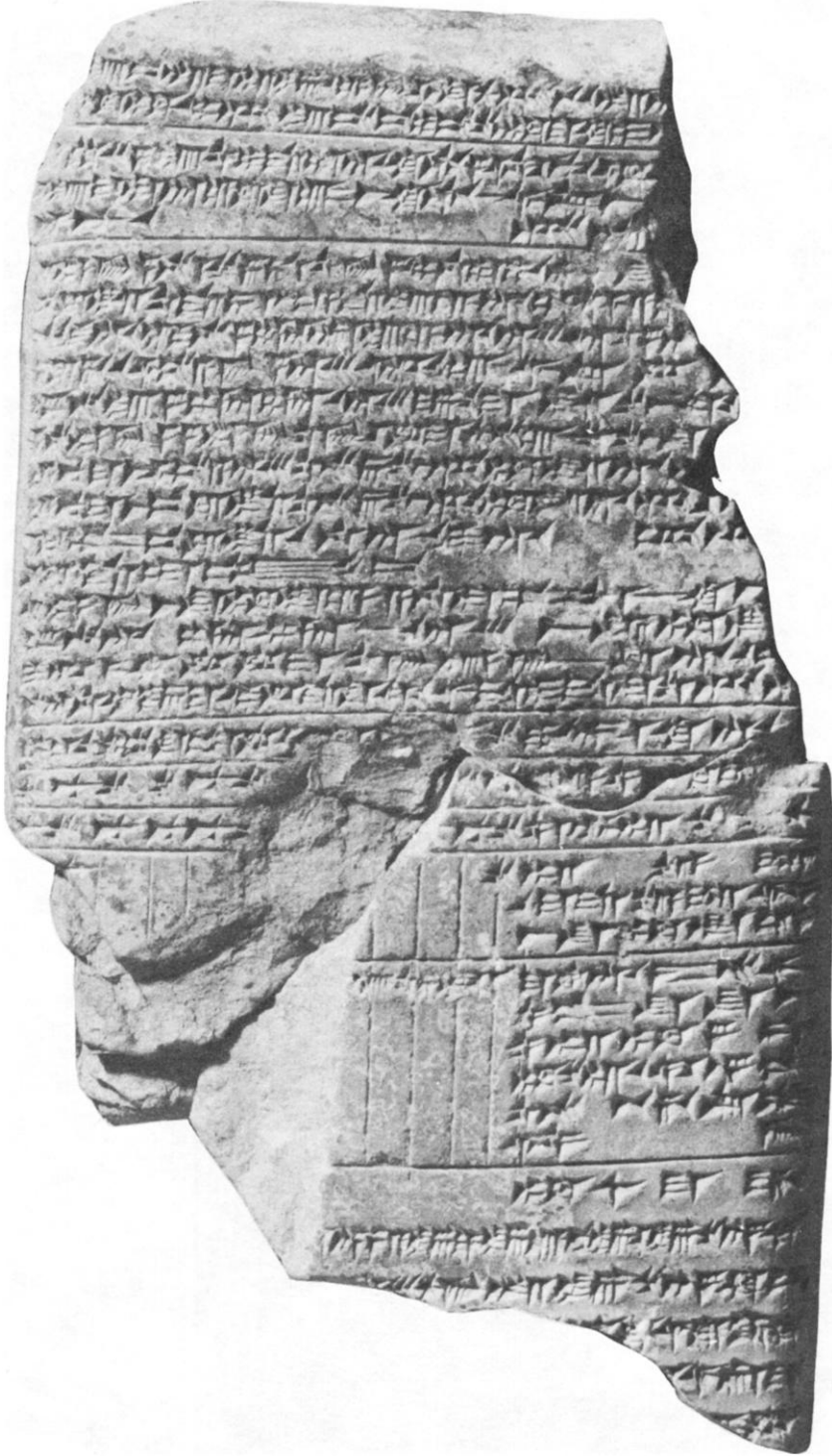


FIG. 2.—K.2847. Reverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

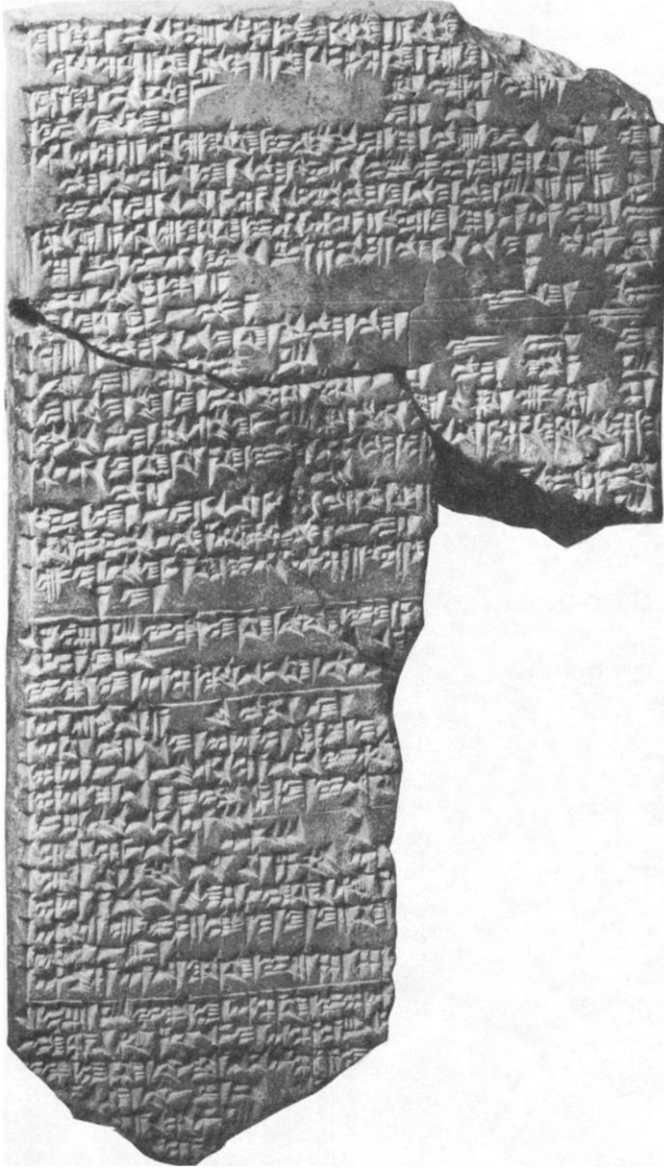


FIG. 3.—K.2848. Obverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

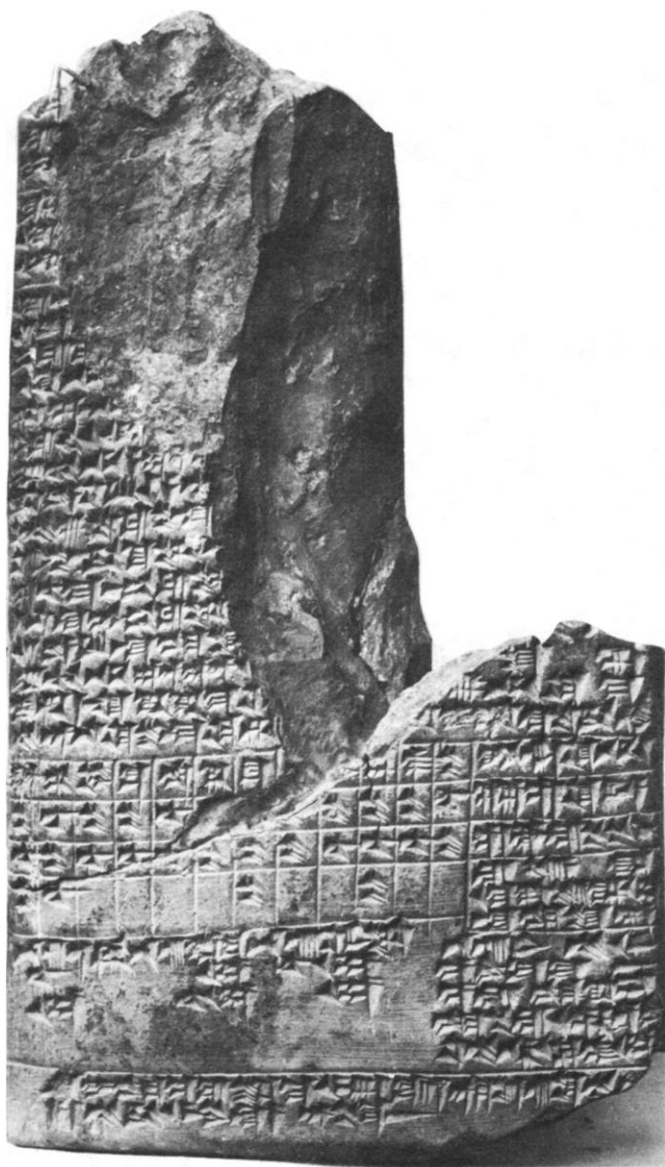


FIG. 4.—K.2848. Reverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



FIG. 5.—K.6476. Reverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

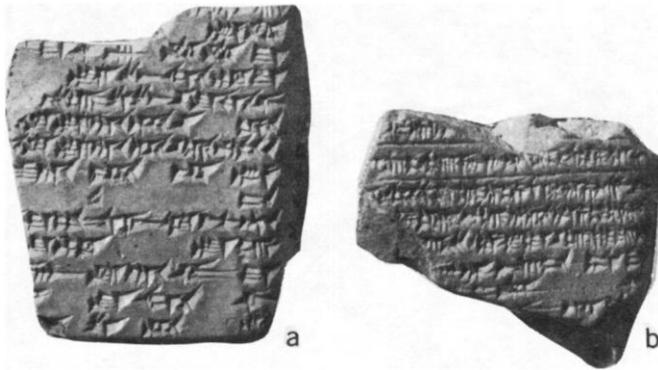


FIG. 6.—K.6485. *a.* Obverse. *b.* Reverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

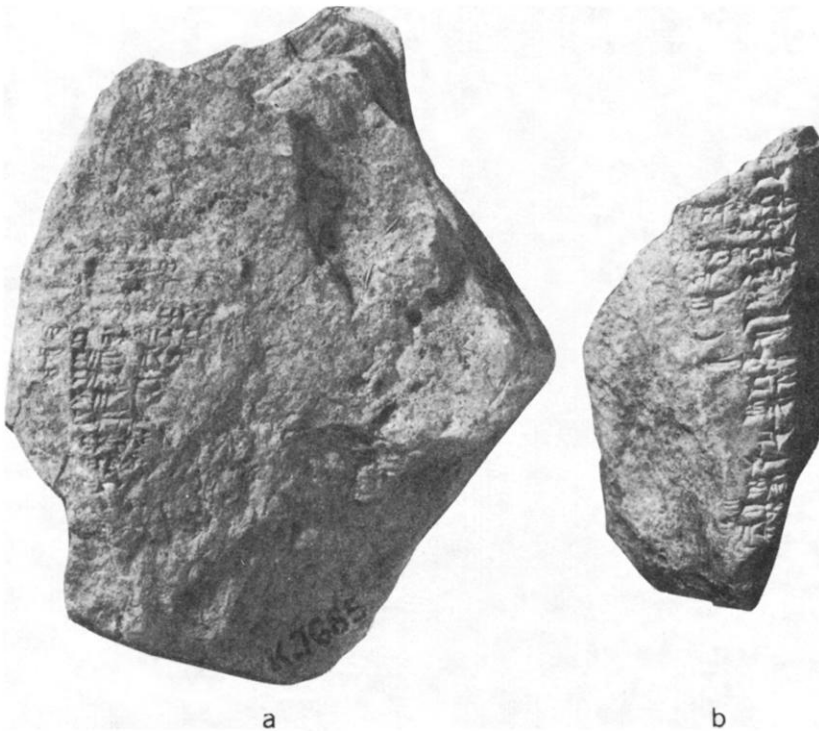


FIG. 7.—*a*. K.7685. Obverse. *b*. K.6540. Obverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

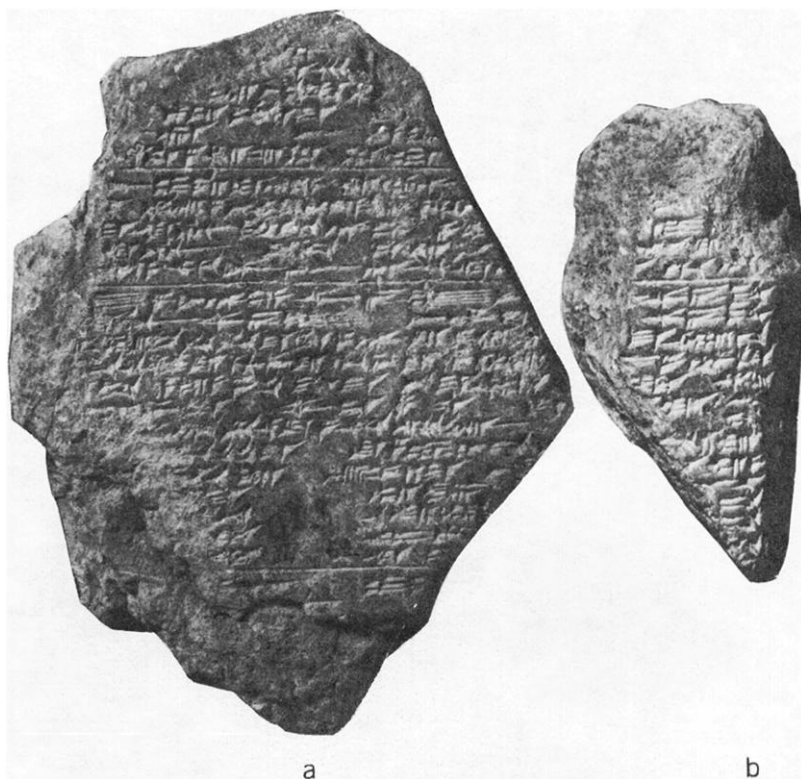


FIG. 8.—*a.* K.7685. Reverse. *b.* K.6540. Reverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



FIG. 9.—K.8801 (joined to Rm. 2,589). *a*. Obverse, *b*. Reverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



FIG. 10.—K.9787. Reverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



FIG. 11.—Sm. 1077. *a*. Obverse. *b*. Reverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

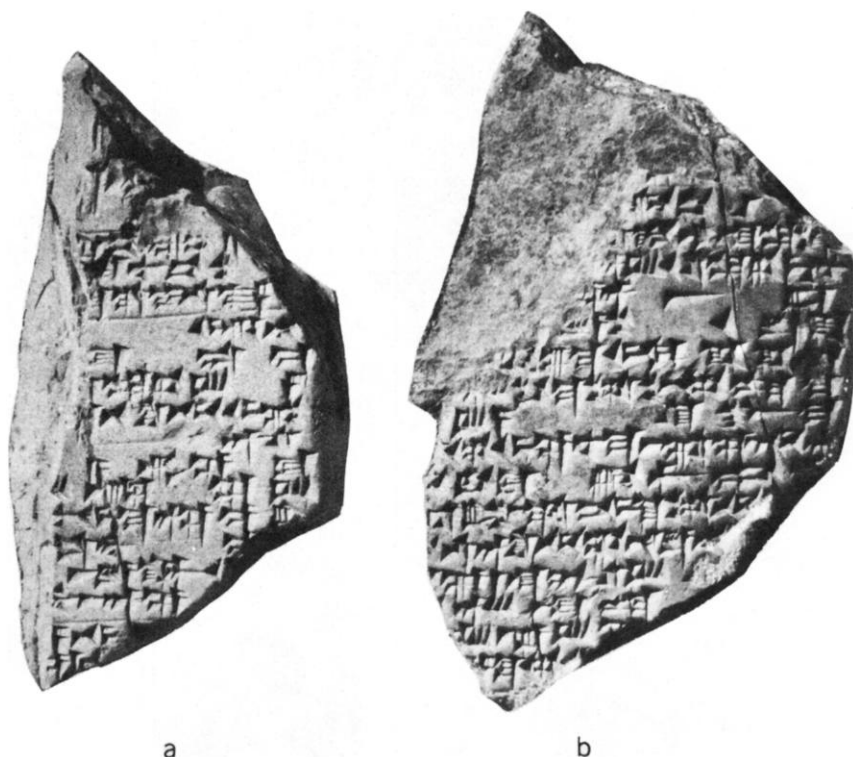


FIG. 12.—Sm. 1088 (joined to Sm. 1531). *a.* Obverse. *b.* Reverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum